



How “Grand” and “Allied” was the Grand Alliance?

Student Name _____ Date _____

Activity #1: Map Exercise

The ARCADIA Conference, Washington, D.C., December 22, 1941-January 14, 1942.

Often overlooked in brief accounts of World War II, the Arcadia Conference was significant primarily for establishing the Anglo-American grand strategy of the conflict, developing war production priorities, and sorting out command relationships. It was undertaken at the initiative of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, who insisted on traveling to the United States shortly after Pearl Harbor. Churchill may have hoped to establish British control of the war effort while American officials were off balance. The conference that ensued, however, demonstrated that US political and military leadership was fundamentally unreceptive to British arguments on points of controversy and determined to play the leading part in management of the war. Fortunately, US-British differences were relatively small when contrasted with the common interests and outlooks of the two nations. Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov also came to Washington and received assurances of American and British support.

The most immediate result of the conference was the Declaration of the United Nations, issued on January 1, 1942. The truly important results were long run. The conference reaffirmed a decision that already had been reached in British-American talks before Pearl Harbor—to concentrate on the defeat of Germany first, and then deal decisively with Japan. The United States also agreed to garrison Iceland and Northern Ireland. The conference also established a joint British-American command structure. Finally, it set ambitious war production targets and reached agreement on apportionment of military materiel between Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Churchill’s inspirational presence in the United States alongside Roosevelt, the Molotov visit, and the United Nations Declaration together left an impression of allied unity and resolve that lifted the spirits of all three nations. The British, convinced that their experience entitled them to run the war, were, however, disappointed that functional military authority was primarily claimed by the United States. In this, as in other issues on which the two nations differed, America’s overwhelming supremacy in manpower and productivity was decisive.

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Suggested Reading: David Bercuson and Holger Herwig, *One Christmas in Washington: Roosevelt and Churchill Forge the Grand Alliance* (Woodstock & New York: The Overlook Press, 2005).



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Activity #1: Map Exercise

Using the maps below, answer the questions that follow.

The Far East and the Pacific, 1941. The Imperial Powers, 1 September 1939:

<http://www.dean.usma.edu/history/web03/atlas/ww2%20pacific/ww2%20pacific%20%20pages/ww2%20pacific%20map%2002.htm>

Europe, Sept. 1, 1939, with German expansion, 1936-39, highlighted:

<http://www.dean.usma.edu/history/web03/atlas/ww2%20europe/ww2%20europe%20pages/ww2%20europe%20map%2002.htm>

Europe, June 21, 1941 showing German and Soviet expansion at time of German invasion of USSR:

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/neh/interactives/wwiidiplomacymap/>

December, 1941, German penetration of the USSR:

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/neh/interactives/wwiidiplomacymap/> (click on December 1941 in upper left-hand corner)

East Asia and the Pacific in World War II. July, 1942 (line shows Japanese expansion into Manchuria, China, and French Indo-China and across the Pacific).

<http://www.dean.usma.edu/history/web03/atlas/ww2%20pacific/ww2%20pacific%20%20maps/ww2-asia-overview.gif>

Question	Answer
Who were the major imperial powers in East Asia on the eve of the Second World War?	
Which of these imperial powers seemed to be most threatening to the other powers in the region? Explain.	

List the steps (places and dates) in Germany’s expansion between 1936 and the eve of the Second World War that would begin on September 1, 1939.	
What country or countries appear from the map to be the most threatened by any potential agreement between Germany and the USSR?	
How did the map of eastern Europe change between September 1939 and June 1941? What happened to Poland? What states did the USSR take over?	
What Balkan states were allied with Germany or under German control prior to the invasion of Russia on September 1, 1939?	
How successful was the German invasion of Russia between June 22 and August 25, 1941?	
What gains and losses had the Germans made by November 1942?	
What territorial changes occurred in Asia and the Pacific region between September 1939 and July 1942?	
What allied territories appear to be especially threatened by further Japanese expansion?	



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Activity #2: The Goals of the Grand Alliance

Directions: On the chart below, indicate what the two following documents say about each of the subjects indicated in the left-hand column:

The Atlantic Charter, August 14, 1941: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/atlantic.htm>

Declaration of the United Nations, January 1, 1942:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decade03.htm>

	The Atlantic Charter	Declaration of the United Nations
Fighting the war		
Making peace with the Axis Powers		
Forms of government in the postwar world		
Political self-determination		

Rights and freedoms		
International trade		
Economic well-being in the postwar world		
World peace		



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Activity #3: Competing National Objectives

Team #1: Soviet Interests

Consult the following documents and answer the questions that follow each one.

Conversation between German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, and Stalin, night of August 23-24, 1939: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/ns053.htm>

Question	Answer
What did both sides think of the military power of Great Britain?	
What did both sides think of the military power of France?	
Where did Stalin suspect the Italians might go next after their conquest of Albania? Did the Reich Foreign Minister (RFM) say anything to lessen Stalin's fears? Explain.	
What was Stalin's attitude toward Japan? What did the RFM offer to do?	
What do you think the RFM was trying to do by either encouraging or downplaying Stalin's fears of Germany's allies? What advantage could Germany gain from this?	

Although the RFM said that “the German people desired peace,” he made it clear that they had grown impatient with one nation and were more than willing to make war on it. What nation was that? Did the RFM offer any reason for this?	
Both sides in this discussion appeared to be united in their opposition to Great Britain. What particular charges did they make against British international goals and methods of achieving those goals? What groups within Britain did they see as responsible in part for Britain’s foreign policy?	
What did the RFM and Stalin say about the attitude of the German people toward the USSR and toward the just-signed German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact? How did the RFM explain earlier tensions between Germany and the USSR?	
Do you think that the RFM and the Soviets were being honest with one another? Explain your reasons. Why might it be in the interests of both sides to be either honest or dishonest in these negotiations?	

Nazi-Soviet Pact, August 23, 1939: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/nonagres.htm>

Additional Secret Protocol, August 23, 1939: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/addsepro.htm>

Question	Answer
What did Germany and the USSR promise (in the part of the treaty made public) not to do?	
Was this to be a long-term agreement? Explain.	

In the “Secret Additional Protocol” signed the same day, what areas were assigned to the Soviet and German “spheres of influence”? What state’s existence was left undecided, dependent on “the course of further political developments”?	
Why do you think that this protocol was “to be treated by both parties as strictly secret”?	

German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty, September 28, 1939:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/gsbound.htm>

Confidential Protocol, September 28, 1939: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/conproto.htm>

Secret Supplementary Protocol, September 28, 1939:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/sesupp.htm>

Secret Supplementary Protocol [No. 2], September 28, 1939:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/nazsov/sesupp1.htm>

Question	Answer
What was to be the fate of the defeated Polish state? What did Germany and the USSR promise to do to any Polish nationalism that surfaced in their territories?	
What was to happen to any ethnic Germans (i.e., people of German descent) and any ethnic White Russians or Ukrainians (the Ukraine was a part of the USSR) living in Poland?	

USSR-Japan Neutrality Treaty, April 13, 1941: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/sl.htm>

Question	Answer
What did the Soviets promise Japan and Great Britain in these agreements?	

Were these promises in accordance with the wartime goals stated in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations? Why or why not?	
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Finally, based on your reading of all of the above documents, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
Even though they cooperated to carve up Eastern Europe, and especially Poland, among themselves, do you believe that Germany and the USSR actually trusted one another in 1939? Was their pact really meant to be a lasting agreement? Explain.	
When Germany broke this agreement by invading the USSR on June 21, 1941, the Soviets were quickly supported by Britain and the US. What in their conversations and dealings with the <i>Germans</i> might have caused the Soviets to mistrust Britain and the US as allies? What in this earlier Soviet relationship with Germany might have caused Britain and the US to mistrust the USSR?	
Stalin had originally wanted territory in Eastern Europe in part as protection against any aggression from the west. Did this goal change at all because of the USSR’s experience with Germany between 1939 and 1941?	

<p>Why did the Soviets seek neutrality and nonaggression agreements with hostile, expansionist neighbors, and especially when they knew from experience that these were not likely to be honored?</p>	
<p>Which documents suggest that the Soviets were more focused on the European war than on linking that war with the war in the Pacific? Why do you think that linking these two theatres of war was less pressing for the Soviets than it was for the US and especially for Great Britain?</p>	



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Activity #3: Competing National Objectives

Team #2: U.S. Interests

Consult the following documents and answer the questions that follow each one.

“The Four Freedoms”:

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/four_freedoms/four_freedoms.html

Question	Answer
List and explain the four “freedoms” as outlined by FDR.	
What words in the speech make it clear that FDR was not only addressing the American people, but also those in other parts of the world either under the control of the Axis powers or, like Great Britain and China, fighting desperately to resist their control?	
Which two “freedoms” appear in the founding documents of the American Republic, such as the Bill of Rights of the US Constitution?	
Which two “freedoms” seem to have resulted from the experiences of the US and the world in the 20 th century? What events are likely to have led FDR to claim a need for these two “freedoms”?	

Joint Resolution of the U.S. Congress Reaffirming the Principles of the Monroe Doctrine, April 10, 1941: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/jointmon.htm>

Question	Answer
Why might the US Congress warn against “any attempt to transfer any geographic region of this hemisphere from non-American power to another non-American power”? What non-American nations still had territory in the western hemisphere? Why and to whom might they become obligated to transfer the control of these territories?	
When Congress affirms a traditional opposition to “any attempt on the part of non-American powers to extend their system” to the western hemisphere, who do they imply may legitimately “extend their system” in this hemisphere? On what basis might they justify this?	

Joint Message of Assistance to the USSR by FDR and Churchill, August 15, 1941:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/joint.htm>

Question	Answer
When FDR and Churchill address Stalin about “long term policy,” to which goal or goals does the document suggest that they are referring? What explains FDR and Churchill’s emphasis?	

Memo by the President’s Special Assistant, Harry Hopkins, to President Roosevelt, December 27, 1941:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/washconf/washc004.htm>

Question	Answer
What specific goals and values does Hopkins think should be included in the declaration?	
What role, if any, should the Atlantic Charter have in this declaration to be made by the Soviets and the other “United Nations”?	

What probable objections does he foresee from the Soviet Union? How does he suggest dealing with these?	
What does Hopkins suggest about the order in which the signers of the declaration should be listed? What are his reasons? Do you think his concerns are reasonable? Explain.	
Why is there a question as to whether or not to include India and the “Free French” among the signing nations? What does Hopkins suggest? Why do you think he suggested what he did?	

Memo by the President to the Secretary of State, December 27, 1941:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/washconf/washc005.htm>

Question	Answer
Did FDR accept Hopkins's suggestions? Explain.	
Did the president appear to go beyond what Hopkins suggested on any issue? Explain.	

Anglo-American Mutual Aid Agreement, February 28, 1942:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/angam42.htm>

Question	Answer
What immediate goals are outlined in the preamble to the aid agreement?	

What post-war goals are listed?	
To what extent do these post-war goals match those of the Atlantic Charter? The Declaration of the United Nations? Do they go further than those earlier visions of a post-war world? Explain.	

US-USSR Mutual Aid Agreement, June 11, 1942:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/amsov42.htm>

Question	Answer
Although this declaration mentions the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations by name and notes that the USSR had committed itself to the principles of both, it does not list the same specific goals as did the United Kingdom-United States Mutual Aid Agreement you just read. Compare and contrast these two agreements. What do you think explains their similarities and their differences?	

Finally, based on your reading of all of the above documents, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
Over what particular goals or values did the US appear to differ with her British and Soviet allies? With which of the two allies was this difference the greatest? Explain.	

<p>Were post-war conflicts between the US and her allies likely because of these differences? Explain.</p>	
<p>Why was the US willing to live with such underlying disagreements within the Grand Alliance?</p>	
<p>What US interests or national goals might come into conflict with any of the goals and values articulated in these documents during or after the war? Explain.</p>	



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Activity #3: Competing National Objectives

Team #3: British Interests

Consult the following documents and answer the questions that follow each one.

United Kingdom-USSR Agreement, July 12, 1941:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/brsov41.htm>

Question	Answer
What is the second provision of this agreement and what fear does it suggest? Was this something feared by Britain or the Soviets or by both? Explain.	

Joint Message of Assistance to the USSR by FDR and Churchill, August 15, 1941:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/joint.htm>

Question	Answer
When FDR and Churchill address Stalin about "long term policy," to which goal or goals does the document suggest that they are referring? What explains FDR and Churchill's emphasis?	

The British Ambassador (Halifax) to Prime Minister Churchill, December 25, 1941:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/washconf/washc003.htm>

Note #1: This document makes reference to India. In 1931, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa all became fully self-governing as dominions in the newly formed British Commonwealth of Nations. India was not granted self-government, however, despite loyal and critical service in the British Empire's war effort during the Great War and despite many promises from London during the war and after. The Amritsar Massacre of 1919 by British troops sparked more than a decade of protests, riots, arrests, non-violent actions, and political maneuvering. In 1935 the British created a federal

government for India, but although the provinces gained a large measure of autonomy, the imperial viceroy retained a veto power. The Indian National Congress movement, founded in 1885, was at the forefront of the campaign for independence. In 1937, elections put the Congress in control of six provinces, but in 1939 the elected Congress ministers resigned when the viceroy declared war on Germany without consulting them, even though the Congress had earlier promised to fight willingly in the war in return for independence. By 1941, India was an important conduit of anti-Axis aid to the USSR and, unlike in World War I when the fighting was far away, was under potential threat when on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor, a Japanese invasion force landed in the British colony of Malaya on the eastern rim of the Indian Ocean.

Note #2: This document also refers to “St. Pierre and Miquelon.” These are islands off the coast of Canada inhabited largely by fishermen. When Hitler overran France in 1940, they remained under Vichy control, even though many inhabitants were sympathetic to De Gaulle and the Free French. Britain, who recognized the Free French as the legitimate French government-in-exile, controlled Newfoundland, only 30 kilometers away, whereas both Canada and the US recognized the Vichy regime. On Christmas Eve, 1941, just weeks after Pearl Harbor, the Free French seized the islands without bloodshed. While the British heartily approved, US Secretary of State Cordell Hull was livid because he had earlier opposed De Gaulle’s plan to take control of the islands, saying that it would disrupt his plan to encourage Vichy France to resist German designs on their fleet and bases in North Africa. Hull also complained bitterly that the action of the Free French was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. This incident touched off a month of diplomatic maneuvering that left the liberators in place on the islands but embittered the American government against De Gaulle.

Question	Answer
The War Cabinet wanted to exclude India from the list of possible signatories to the Joint Declaration. Although the document does not say, what probably explains this? Why did Halifax disagree with this? Explain why Halifax was also likely sensitive to FDR’s views and US public opinion. Was there anything about any of the governments that were being allowed to sign that made Halifax see India’s inclusion as consistent with this?	
What reasons did Halifax mention for leaving De Gaulle’s Free French off the list of signatories? Why did he conclude that they ought to be included? What did he mean by “in spite of St. Pierre and Miquelon”?	
To what “purposes and principles” did the Draft Joint Declaration claim to adhere? What values were expressed by the Draft Joint Declaration itself?	

Why might the exclusion of India from the list of signatories be seen by many, including the US government and public, as a contradiction of the moral basis of the Grand Alliance?	
In what ways does the Draft Joint Declaration resemble the United Kingdom-USSR Agreement of July 12, 1941? What explains this?	

The British Secretary of State (Anthony Eden) to the British Ambassador (Halifax), December 29, 1941:
<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/washconf/washc008.htm>

The British Secretary of State (Anthony Eden) to the British Ambassador (Halifax), December 29, 1941
 [No. 2]: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/washconf/washc009.htm>

Question	Answer
Why and upon what basis did Eden and the War Cabinet argue for the inclusion of “Czecho-Slovakia” and Luxembourg?	
What did they think about the inclusion of the Free French and why?	
What concerns were expressed about the listing of the members of the British Commonwealth? What explains this?	
What was decided about India?	
What in Eden's two notes suggests some friction in these negotiations between the British and the US?	

Anglo-American Mutual Aid Agreement, February 28, 1942:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/angam42.htm>

Question	Answer
Why do you think the drafters of this document felt it was necessary to refer to the Atlantic Charter?	
Why do you think the document fails to specify terms for British repayment of U.S. aid?	

Finally, based on your reading of all of the above documents, answer the following questions:

Question	Answer
What issues were sources of friction between the British and the US? Do these issues reflect deeper differences over the meaning or application of the principles of the Grand Alliance as expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration of the United Nations? Explain.	
What evidence suggests that the British feared that the US might not regard them as equal partners in the alliance? Do you see any evidence that the British, even though reluctantly, accommodated themselves to American predominance in the alliance? If so, why would the British be willing to accept this secondary position?	